7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



621 The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys
872 and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of
879 them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

463 We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The
565 chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Protestant preacher | 1 | Seamstress | 5 |
| Detective | 1 | Waiter | 3 |
| Fireman | 1 | Hospital attendant | 4 |
| Soldier (sergeant) | 1 | Janitor | 2 |
| Tailor | 2 | Surveyor | 1 |

[441] The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

[875] Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

462 Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women
759 and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents
555 and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

## MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

162 Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the
582 ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

| | MEN | | WOMEN | | | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AGE | Single | Married | Single | Married | AGE | Single | Married | Single | Married |
| 15–19 | 39 | 0 | 27 | 0 | 30–34 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| 20–24 | 30 | 1 | 17 | 7 | 35–39 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 12 |
| 25–29 | 15 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 40–44 | 2 | 14 | 0 | 12 |

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



621 671 remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munṣif is a single kinship unit.[1]

[178] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

## MONEY

436 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[457] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munṣif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic [435 455] of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

[186] However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

## EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

181 871 555 "In Munṣif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 370–71).

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its validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and families seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and sacrifices made by the Munṣifiin in the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has created problems as well as opened new opportunities.

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The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of them used to be limited to very few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon sectarian beliefs (cf. Tannous, 1943a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic policies in their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized; (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1936, p. 84), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Munṣifiin are a very good example. Freya Stark gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
>
> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But love for the beautiful language remained latent, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Nasif Yazeji and Butrus Bustani, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 119–20.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of literate education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Redfield, 1930, pp. 170–72).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that shown us by Stark. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, information on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual interests of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn finds that the process of transition is full of disruption in which morality slackens, taste deteriorates, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without penetrating the nature of that culture (1936, p. 89).

17) Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI



national economy. They produce most of the food consumed by the country, as well as raw materials for industries and some surplus products for export. In fact, agricultural items are Lebanon's principal exports. Agriculture is also destined to play an even greater role in the future. At present the area under cultivation amounts to 640,000 acres, including less than 100,000 acres under irrigation. The crop land can at least be doubled, mainly by means of expanded irrigation. The abundant water resource could be much more efficiently utilized than it now is for increasing crop production, for the generation of power, and for household uses. There are good possibilities for the development of such agricultural and cottage industries as canning, dairying, cold storage for fruit, tanning, and handicrafts. Furthermore, production can be materially increased by the application of improved methods of cultivation. In other words, the village folk of Lebanon are in a position to make an even greater contribution to the national economy than they now do, provided they are given the necessary technical training and expert guidance.

In the third place, the rural community has been a main contributor to the cultural development of Lebanon. By culture here is not meant the conventional fine arts or those items of refinement in behavior that are shared by the few. We mean rather the pattern of living that is characteristic of Lebanon as a whole. We find here certain distinctive features, many of which can be traced directly to their origin in the village community. It is true that cultural influences from abroad have been finding their way into urban centers and thence into rural areas. These influences, however, together with those that have originated in urban centers, have not superseded the main body of culture, which remains predominantly rural. Family solidarity, group loyalty, individual initiative and enterprise, co-operativeness, community consciousness, a democratic way of living involving basic equality, and folk poetry are outstanding examples.

Finally, mention should be made of the significant leadership, in the various walks of life, that has been produced by the Lebanese village. The majority of leaders in politics, education, medicine, law, business enterprise, literature, and the other pro-

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI



fessions, although they flourish in urban centers, have either had a direct rural upbringing or are but one generation removed from it.

## II

Nearly all farmers of Lebanon live in villages, not on isolated farmsteads. This is the prevailing pattern of the Middle East and of most the Old World. In some parts of Europe and in most of the United States farmers live in relative isolation, each on his own land. These two different patterns have contributed to marked differences in the way of life among farming folk.

The typical Lebanese farming settlement consists, in the first place, of the village proper. This is a conglomeration of dwellings concentrated in a relatively small area. The houses, ranging in number from about 100 to 500, stand close to one another. Sometimes there is room between them for small gardens or orchards. Usually the center of this nucleated structure is the church or the mosque. In the adjoining open space, the *saha*, the people assemble to celebrate, exchange news, or hold a market. Dwellings stretch from this center in various directions. Usually, sections of the village are differentiated along kinship-group lines. Another important center is the well, or spring, in the village proper or just outside it. Agricultural land, consisting mainly of orchards, vineyards, and open fields, extends in all directions from the central group of dwellings. During the greater part of the year, the farmers and their animals take a daily trip, going to the fields early in the morning and returning to the village at sunset.

The outstanding feature of this type of close settlement is that it provides the individual with a situation that is highly socializing. People know one another intimately. In many important situations they act as a group, yet leave room for individual initiative. A genuine feeling of neighborliness, or *jirah*, prevails. The Arabic term is significant, properly meaning "help" or "cooperation." A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his age group but also to his elders and those younger than himself.